585 his game to the house of his bride and the products of his
591 garden went to the new household. He didn't even have to
586 move his hammock. Marriage was unstable especially in its early years before children were born to the couple. However, separation frequently occurred even between couples with two or three children. In these cases, the man went back to his old village or house affiliation and the children stayed with the mother. The commonest causes of marital breakup were laziness or infidelity on the part of the wife, in which case the husband might simply gather his hammock, weapons, and personal belongings together and leave. The same reasons on the part of the husband might cause the girl's family to turn the husband out of the household. Her relative lack of mobility made it difficult for the female to take the initiative in these cases.

595 Polygamy was not commonly practiced among the Mundurucú and the number of wives in such unions never exceeded two. It was generally confined to the chief of the [622] village since the chief and his sons were exempt from the rules of matrilocality. The sons of the chief remained members of the father's household and their brides were incorporated into it. Usually the second wife was taken at some considerable time after the first marriage and often only when the first wife grew too old to fulfill her economic functions. A situation akin to polygamy often existed when a man took a new wife before taking his leave of the old one. These episodes were usually stormy. There was frequently bitter hostility between the two wives if they shared

585 the same residence or village. There is no evidence that polygyny was ordinarily covered nor did the sororate and levirate have significant occurrence. None of these traits, so common in many primitive societies, was felt to be obligatory or even especially desirable.

684 Adultery was common and a frequent source of strife in the village. The men regarded their own adulterous escapades as highly diverting, harmless adventures. However, they did not take so lenient a view towards those of their wives. A husband whose wife was unfaithful usually beat her and verbally harangued her. No physical action was taken against the offending male, although an argument might ensue. [59%] When the wife became so promiscuous that she lowered her husband in the eyes of the community, he left her. The woman whose husband was unfaithful had little recourse except to fight with him and, as one female informant said, "go out and do the same thing myself." If the husband's behavior became outrageous to the wife's family he might be invited to leave. The problems of sex caused few open ruptures in the Rumdurucú village, but they were always a source of ill feeling.

614 The sib-society system

The Rumdurucú social organization is rather complex for a Tupian group. They had thirty eight sibs divided into red and white societies. The red society had sixteen sibs while the white had twenty-two. Of these thirty eight, eight are already extinct and my informants indicated that there were several more old sibs that they could no longer remember.

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
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that personal possessions were destroyed upon death, garden lands were abandoned after two years of planting and allowed to return to forest, and villages and their houses were abandoned every ten years. Thus land and houses, as such, were 'owned' only while being used, and had but temporary value. The only matrilineal traits manifested by the Munduruc6 were a taboo on marriage with the sister's daughter and the retention of children by the wife's family in cases of divorce.

The Munduruc6 were divided by an exogamic moiety system, and these patrilineal moieties were subdivided into component patrilineal clans. Certain clans were allied into loose, unnamed phratries, and four clans had subclans. Although the clans were formally exogamic, their function in marriage regulation was superceded by the moiety. However, sexual relations within the clan and, to a lesser extent, within the phratry were considered to be much more flagrant violations than was a breach of moiety exogamy. The moieties, referred to as "Red" and "White" people by the Munduruc6, had secondary functions such as the burial of each other's dead and the assignment of complementary roles in certain ceremonial situations. The levirate and sororate occasionally occurred, but there is no indication that these were obligatory practices. Marriage with true cross-cousins was very frequent and was looked upon as a desirable union. The community was neither endogamous nor exogamous, and marriage within or outside of the village was permissible.

The interrelation of phratry, clan, and subclan was complex and is of considerable importance in that it manifests a fission process whereby new clans are born and phratries formed. Contemporary Munduruc6 informants reported thirty-eight clans, some of which are now extinct due to depopulation. Twenty-two of these clans were in the White moiety and sixteen were Red. Each clan bore the eponymous name of some plant, bird, or animal, but totemic taboos towards the species after which the clan was named were absent. There was no feeling or expression of relationship with the species on the part of the clan members, nor were there myths of descent from the eponymous objects. Each clan, however, had a spirit called the *tadé*, or "old person," which was given the same name as the clan.[3] This carried some connotations of ancestry, as *tadé* also denoted the various culture heroes and can well be translated as "great ancestor."

The origin of the clan system is variously explained by Munduruc6 informants. The most common response is that the culture hero, Karusakaibé, divided the Munduruc6 into clans and gave them their names and spirits. However, Kruse (1934) reported a myth wherein the Munduruc6 were once a number of mutually hostile tribes which were united by the same culture hero by the expedient of converting the tribes into clans. In connection with this latter myth and the previously mentioned lack of legends of descent from the eponymous object, it is significant that the Munduruc6 word for the clan, *dïwat*, does not directly imply descent. Literally translated, *dïwat* means "dwellers of the river." Thus, the Aru (parrot) clan is referred to as Arudïwat, which means "dwellers of the river of the parrot." Ancestry is, however, in-

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
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several clans. The result is the highly mixed membership still observable today.

The female manioc producing group became permanent and was able to incorporate and keep the girls of the household. The ownership of land did not inhibit this process, as might be expected, for forest lands were not owned under conditions of shifting agriculture. An interesting development which probably took place soon after the formation of these households of related females was that children, in the event of divorce, most often remained with the mother.

Chiefs gained importance through the trade, as they served as middlemen for the village (Bates 1863:243–244). Their added prestige enabled them to keep their sons and thereby to gain daughters-in-law for work in the gardens and in the preparation of manioc flour. It thus helped to perpetuate the patrilineal inheritance of office. In common with other groups in eastern South America, perhaps the sons of chiefs never had to submit to bride service (Lowie 1949:315). In this case, the perpetuation of patrilocality in the chief's line would have been simplified. On the basis of our knowledge of the contemporary Mundurucú, however, it would not be overspeculative to surmise that the patrilocal perrogative of the chief's lineage was a point of conflict.

Finally, whatever degree of military effectiveness the Mundurucú sacrificed by the breakup of the male residence-kinship group was more than compensated for by the heightened tribal integration obtained.

PATRILINEALITY TO MATRILINEALITY?

The change in residence pattern which may be deduced from our knowledge of past and present Mundurucú social organization is of special significance in view of the long debate as to the priority of the matrilineate. Murdock, as has been noted, states that a "direct" transition from the patrilineate to the matrilineate is not to be expected. The basis for this position lies in his belief that in "a typical patrilineal and patrilocal community . . . the obstacles to patrilocal residence, in sum, are well-nigh insuperable" (Murdock 1949: 216–17). A functional analysis of Mundurucú social structure reveals, however, that the obstacles to such a transition were surmounted. Let us review how the inhibitions on matrilocality cited by Murdock were and are handled by the Mundurucú.

First, it is not too difficult to learn a new hunting territory, especially in a uniform environment and using group techniques. Even Mundurucú men on short visits to other villages joined their hosts in the hunt, frequently with great success. Second, although the Mundurucú practiced polygyny, monogamy was the common form of marriage. Martius (1867:393) indicated polygyny to have been confined to persons of power and status during the patrilocal period. This is not at all inconsistent with the later limitation of this custom to the chiefs, and very little actual change in patterns of polygyny probably took place. Third, the transition might have been extremely difficult had there been patrilineal ownership of land, houses, or immovable chattels. There was, however, no such ownership in either line and all male personal possessions were destroyed or buried with the body upon death. The personal

unimportant. Otherwise, the husband visited his household for purposes of sex, to play with the children, or to take a between-meals snack.

Marital break-ups caused no great social maladjustment. The woman and her children simply lived on in the household and took another husband. If the ex-husband was originally from the same village, he did not even have to move his hammock from the men's house. The husband and wife performed no economic tasks together, and the sexual division of labor operated mainly within the context of the village as a whole rather than the nuclear family.

The yearly cycle of activity of the pre-rubber period Mundurucú was not patterned by wave and cold seasons as in Labrador, but by rainy and dry periods. At the end of each rainy season, April on the upper Tapajós River, the trees and vegetation in each projected garden were felled by a work party composed of all the men of the village and allowed to dry out. After clearing the forest, many families went in small groups to the larger streams where fishing was good during low waters and where they could hunt the many game animals which left the interior forests to feed and drink at the streams.

After two to three months it was necessary to return to the village to burn the felled vegetation in the garden clearings before the first rains wet the forests. After the early rains had sufficiently moistened the ground, individual gardens were planted to manioc by the cooperative efforts of all the men and women of the village. Other vegetables were planted by the women of the household of the man who initiated the gardens, and who was formally considered to own it.

Maize, squash, beans, and other vegetables were harvested by January or February and eaten immediately. The root crops, including bitter and sweet manioc, matured at the end of the rainy season in new gardens. A longer period of maturation was required for root crops in replanted gardens. Bitter and sweet manioc can be harvested as needed; this natural storage made these crops invaluable for year-around subsistence.

The bitter manioc, by far the most important garden product, required considerable labor to render it edible. The tubers were grated, the prussic acid was extracted by use of the tipiti, or basketry press, and the pulp was then toasted either in the form of the native beiju, a flat manioc cake, or of farinha, the coarse Brazilian manioc flour. Farinha was sold to Brazilian traders. All phases of manioc processing were carried out by the women of the extended family household, who worked together under the direction of the oldest woman of the house. The labor was divided according to specialized tasks which, however, probably contributed as much towards making the operation pleasant as efficient.

Farinha was thus a collective product in that it involved the communal labor of the village in garden clearing and manioc planting, and the efforts of the women of the households in processing. Moreover, it was sold to the traders by the village as a whole and not by individuals. In this barter the hereditary village chief represented the village, and the proceeds from the sale were divided equally among the contributing households.

Bates, the British naturalist, describes the scale on which this trade was conducted in the mid-nineteenth century, when the first small quantities of rubber were traded by the Mundurucú along with larger amounts of other produce:

> "They [the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós River] make large plantations of manioca, and sell the surplus produce, which amounts on the Tapajos to from 2000 to 3000 baskets (60 lbs. each) annually, to traders who ascend the river from Santarem between the months of August and January. They

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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ess, however, is possible only if the patrilineal society is also patrilocal, because it assumes a localized group of related males who are subjected to a common pressure to seek fresh sources of subsistence, and who can move as a unit. Under a matrilocal residence rule, the budding of lineages from a parent clan is more difficult, because the male members of the matrilineage, who are after all the principal actors in authority and decision making, have no residential locus. This accords with George P. Murdock's observations on the relatively greater ease of fission of localized patrilineal clans;[6] it is also congruent with W. Robertson Smith's generalization that patrilineality (and patrilocality) are better adapted to the needs of an expanding society than matrilineality (and matrilocality).[7]

The structure of Mundurucú clanship points clearly to an antecedent rule of patrilocality. The view of Murdock,[8] Steward,[9] and Titiev,[10] among others, that a unilineal system of descent is based upon and grows out of a corresponding unilocal mode of residence would make this an attractive hypothesis even without the evidence that has been presented. Historical confirmation of the thesis is found in the writings of Martius. He reported that bridegrooms were obliged to spend several years in service to the father-in-law.[11] At the end of this period they probably returned to their natal dwellings, for Martius noted that a man could eject his wife if displeased with her.[12]

The time of the change from patrilocality with temporary matrilocality to permanent matrilocality is uncer-

[6] Murdock, 1949, pp. 214-215.
[7] Smith, 1903, p. 269.
[8] Murdock, 1949, p. 208.
[9] Steward, 1936, pp. 343-344.
[10] Titiev, 1943.
[11] Martius, 1867, p. 365.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 393.

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often wanders from village to village, hanging his ham- 584
mock in the men's houses and acquainting himself with available girls. If one meets his fancy, he generally enters into a casual liaison with her and then asks her father and mother for permission to marry. If they consider him to be a serious person and a good worker, permission is usually granted. The young man does not always represent himself but frequently returns home to ask his father to speak in his behalf. Marriages are occasionally contracted for the children by the parents; this practice is less common than it was in the past, as the decreased importance of the extended family has made marriage increasingly an individual affair rather than a bond between kin groups.

No special observances of either a ceremonial or an eco- 585
nomic nature precede the marriage. If the young man was a resident of another village, he comes to the bride's village bearing his hammock, arms and personal possessions and installs himself in the men's house. If he is from the same village as the bride, which is less frequently the case, he makes no change at all in his living arrangements. The groom merely brings fish and game to his bride, and not to the house of his mother. The provision of the wife with food is the central symbolic act in marriage. Both my- 586
thology and reallife abound with cases in which the young man who is determined to leave his wife, openly and deliberately refuses to give her his day's kill; this effectively constitutes divorce.

Mundurucú marriages become consolidated by time and 581
children. Couples who have been married several years commonly show great devotion to each other. But the union tends to be brittle in its early period. The membership of the husband and wife in the men's house and the dwelling house, respectively, and the patterns of collectivism in consumption give the couple a degree of economic in-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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dependence from each other that is not conducive to marital stability. The husband may leave with little difficulty, and frequently does. The wife's lack of mobility makes it more difficult for her to break the marriage on her own initiative, but if the groom incurs the displeasure of the father-in-law, he is often told to leave. The divorced man either returns to his native village or wanders in search of another wife.

That the stability of Mundurucú marriages depends primarily upon the growth of affective bonds between the mates and a common interest in their children gives us a certain insight into the workings of the social system. There has recently been some discussion on the relation of marital stability to mode of descent and types of social unit, as revealed by comparative analysis of some selected African societies.[16] These have shown that marriage tends to be more enduring in patrilineal than in matrilineal groups and that this tendency is even more pronounced when the bride is incorporated into the membership of her husband's kin group. The Mundurucú are interesting just because they do not conform typologically to the African examples. Despite formal patrilineality, marriage is matrilocal and the man is thrust into affiliation with a cohesive unit of related kinswomen. His wife's primary loyalties are to her household; the husband's remain with the relatives of his natal household. The husband initially has no deep commitment to the wife's household and is under no strong influence to remain if he experiences difficulties with his wife or her kin. Thus far, the Mundurucú approximate the Hopi, for example, with the important exception that the latter are matrilineal also. In matrilineal-matrilocal societies of the Hopi type, every man maintains continuing rights and duties within his matrilineage, and these ties

[16] *Cf.* Gluckman, 1950; Schneider, 1953; Fallers, 1957.